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WHAT THE DEMOCRATS ARE DOING

by Felix Morley

Both newspaper reporters and radio commentators in general gave the false impression that the recent Democratic Convention was a dull affair. Presumably that was due to the fact that no sharp conflict of personalities was involved. Our national interest in political thinking has reached so low an ebb that ideas pass undetected unless they happen to be sharply embodied in a personality. In short, it is not politics but politicians over which Americans get excited.

To anyone interested in political theory, the Democratic Convention of 1948 was one of the most significant political gatherings which has ever been held in the United States. Its accomplishment was something far more momentous than the mere selection of a Presidential candidate. At Philadelphia, between the mornings of July 12 and 15, a historic Party completely altered its political philosophy. A new set of principles replaced those to which this Party has traditionally adhered.

The consequences of this decision are certain to be momentous. The walkout of the Mississippi delegation, and half of that from Alabama, was far from being the futile gesture it was reported to be. This dramatic protest did not prevent the nomination of President Truman, in a ballot on which he received not one vote from ten of the 48 states. Similarly, the subsequent nomination, at Birmingham, of Governor Thurmond, of South Carolina, may not constitute a serious handicap to the Truman candidacy.

But the failure of the Southern Democrats to stop Truman does not mean that their cause is necessarily lost. The struggle has been transferred from the oppressive atmosphere of Convention Hall to the wider battleground of the Congressional constituencies. When Governor Dewey outstripped Senator Taft and the other candidates at the Republican Convention, something was settled. It was certain that the losers and their adherents would fall in behind the winner. In the case of the Democratic Convention it is certain that the losers will not fall in behind the winner.

Over the platform at Philadelphia the Democrats had hoisted two huge photographs. One was of President Roosevelt, who undermined the

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Democratic Party, but was subtle enough to avert its disintegration during his lifetime. The other portrait was of President Truman. It has been his achievement openly to complete the work of dissolution which Roosevelt started.

II

On March 3 of this year, in an article entitled "The South Secedes?" HUMAN EVENTS analyzed the forces behind the Democratic disintegration. At that time we noted that Mr. Truman could save "either the city machines or the Solid South for his Party". But we concluded that the Communist-supported candidacy of Henry Wallace would make it difficult for Mr. Truman to hold the Left-Wing vote.

Since March, American Communism has fortunately suffered more of a setback than seemed probable five months ago. To offset the danger of war created by Soviet intransigeance there is at least the happy outcome of Mr. Wallace's deflation. Outside of the Communists and fellow travellers he now has virtually no following. Mr. Wallace remains the candidate of the extreme Left. But that faction is now more closely identified with Moscow than it was.

The attrition in the Wallace movement, together with the deepening rift within the Democratic Party, has given Mr. Truman an opportunity which Leon Henderson and a few other shrewd New Dealers have successfully persuaded him to seize. American Socialism has fallen on evil times and of late has been scarcely more potent than the personal influence of Norman Thomas. But with a party machine which is strong in the centers of industry, and under a name which has a good American flavor, there is hope for National Socialism in the United States today. Roosevelt laid its foundations and his remaining lieutenants see a chance for Truman to build on them.

The essence of Socialism, as a political force, is centralization of power. Without centralization there can be no nationalization of industry, no bureaucratic controls over prices and wages, no effective regimentation of education and not more than a faint semblance of all that pompous planning behind which Socialists of every variety combine. Therefore an effective Socialist Party must first of all eliminate the hindrances to centralization which lie in its path.

In order to transform the Democratic Party into a Socialist Party it was necessary first of all to eliminate the major obstacle to centralization. This, of course, is the principle of States' Rights, to which the Democratic Party had consistently pledged itself in every election platform from 1840 until 1948. It was a historic step when the

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Philadelphia Convention, by a three to one majority, defeated the final effort to include in the Democratic Platform the same sort of Home Rule pledge which heretofore had always found place there.

III

The so-called Civil Rights program of President Truman was the weapon cleverly chosen to break down the weakened defenses of States' Rights. Some of the advocates of "Civil Rights" would have us believe that it is nothing more than a belated implementation of the Fifteenth Amendment:

> "The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
>
> "The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Opponents of the program, on the other hand, maintain with good reason that legislation like a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act has no relationship whatsoever to the Fifteenth Amendment, but is, on the contrary, in direct violation of the Tenth Amendment:

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

It may well be argued that if the South had been less recalcitrant in permitting Negroes to vote, it would not now be confronted with the coercive program which was written into the Democratic Platform from the floor in Philadelphia. But whatever the deficiencies of Southern statesmanship, the program now adopted by the Democratic Party remains coercive. That is the point which cannot be overlooked.

Throughout its long history the Democratic Party has always prided itself on being representative of the common man. But it has heretofore balanced this egalitarianism by an insistence on Home Rule which has prevented this Party from becoming avowedly Socialistic. There can be no Socialism where centralization of political power is opposed on principle.

What happened at Philadelphia was that the opponents of political centralization were finally and crushingly defeated. Complete control of much of the Party machinery, and of the rather pathetic Party candidate, thereby passed to the hands of the centralizers. For the future of the Republic this development is really far more important than the issues which brought it to a head. The outcome is that in our Federal Republic there is no longer a major political party committed to the principles of Federalism.

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By summoning a Special Session of Congress, for which he has openly outlined a purely Socialistic agenda, President Truman has sharpened the issue. The bitterness aroused at Philadelphia might have died away. The Birmingham Conference might have turned out to be a localized gesture of no long-range significance. But the President's advisers have boldly decided to rub salt in Southern wounds while they are still raw. This probably means a cleavage which will not be healed by anything short of a foreign war -- on the brink of which the nation is now undeniably trembling.

We must remember that the threat of war is, almost as much as war itself, a great centralizing and Socialistic force. It might be exaggeration to say the Democratic Party is more likely to precipitate war because it is turning Socialist. It can, however, be stated as a political law that the greater the centralization of power in government, the easier it is for government to make war. That is precisely why we are insisting that the post-war governments of both Germany and Japan shall be decentralized.

Moreover there are now in the domestic political field no fewer than four political organizations with a chance of polling large popular votes. There is the new Thurmond-Wright ticket in addition to that of Wallace-Taylor and the two major parties. Here is a situation which could lead to the election of a President on a minority vote and -- quite conceivably -- to the breakdown of the two-party system.

The picture is obviously one which calls for the most careful consideration on the part of Governor Dewey, and indeed from all Republicans who can see further than the next election day. Historically, the Republican Party has stood for political centralization. It has not been Socialistic, but more because of the economic than the political case against Socialism.

With the Democratic Party moving swiftly towards National Socialism it becomes essential for the Republicans to place more emphasis on the political as well as the economic arguments against centralized power. It becomes necessary, if the two-party system is to be preserved, for the GOP in its turn to reflect on the implications of Federalism and the consequent case for States' Rights.

In the last two weeks Mr. Truman has cut heavily into the strength of Henry Wallace. If Mr. Dewey plays his cards well it will be equally possible for him to make headway in the heretofore Solid, and still essentially anti-Socialist, South.

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By Frank C. Hanighen

When the President's call for a Special Congressional Session was issued last week, few sensed the magnitude of the political forces set in motion. Thus at a press table in the Capitol lunchroom, the day after the call for a Special Session, the talk turned only on the domestic political calculations. "This ruins my chance for a summer vacation. The session will last all during August. But will it last any longer than that?" The unanimous answer was: "No Democratic Congressman, much less a Republican, can be kept here after Labor Day. After all, they want to campaign for re-election." But a filibuster? "The Republicans will let the Southern Democrats filibuster the Civil Rights Bill, until everyone is worn out. Then they will vote cloture. They have the votes. There are at least sixteen Northern Democratic Senators who will vote for cloture. That added to the votes of most of the Republicans will give the two-thirds necessary. By that time, it will be Labor Day, and time to go home." One sage drew the conclusion: "Well, if the session is over by Labor Day, then most of the screaming of August will be forgotten by October. Dewey will be talking about other matters. Anyway, Presidential campaigns never really get started before September. If Truman is aiming to take the spotlight off the Dewey campaign, he's not going to succeed. With Congress home in September and October, Dewey will have the spotlight."

Senator Malone (Nevada), one of the few Members of Congress remaining on the Hill in the past week, perceived a wider scope in the President's action. Editorial writers have deplored the summons as likely to produce bad effects on the international situation; stressing that the world would receive the impression of a divided country. Senator Malone was more interested in the causes than the effects. He said, "It's a diversion on top of a diversion. Early this year, when the President saw his electoral chances diminishing because of the disintegration of his Party, he sought a diversion abroad -- playing up the foreign danger for more than it was worth. Today, the Berlin crisis reveals how ineptly the Administration has handled the foreign policy. A crisis has arisen over Berlin because of bungling and lack of intelligent direction of our affairs in Europe. So, now the Administration seeks to divert criticism from the failure of its policy abroad, by calling the Special Session. It apparently wants to precipitate a nation-wide row over the inflation which the White House did not have the courage to tackle last winter. One diversion after another."

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Senator Malone's criticism carried the implication that the present Berlin crisis could have been avoided. It is common talk in well-informed quarters in Washington that, when the conflict in Berlin started last winter, the military authorities wanted to meet the challenge head-on. But the White House and civilian authorities vetoed such a courageous stand. There are some who find the Russian attitude today understandable because of this vacillating policy. Thus, one of the best foreign correspondents, James O'Donnell of the New York Daily News, wires from Berlin (July 19) a description of the Russian attitude: "The Anglo-Saxons here [say the Russians] are a mystery wrapped in an enigma. It has been extremely difficult to deal with them on any rational basis. For three years we have given them the clearest of indications that we intended to control this city. Always we were confronted with quibbles and evasions. Every time we took a step to tighten our control, they made protests for the record and then acquiesced at an official level. When we threatened to inspect their military trains, they stopped sending them. For

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a fortnight we published hints in our licensed press that the bridge across the Elbe needed repairs. We expected them to send a battalion of engineers to inspect it but they didn't. When we drew the logical conclusion that they didn't intend to stay here, and knocked out the bridge, they filled the sky with airplanes."

In this connection it is important to reveal that there are some quarters in the Government which remain unconvinced that the Russian Government is as intransigeant on Berlin as is pictured in the American press. One Government branch, specializing on the German situation, gave us the following reassuring analysis: The Berlin situation, while disturbing, is not as immediately dangerous as American news headlines say. Because Clay does not properly brief the press, correspondents in Berlin have sent some wild, unfounded stories. The Russian regime is less belligerent than people here think. The note of July 13 did not slam the door on negotiations, and contained a number of soft spots. We might well tide the situation over by making some concessions, for instance, on the currency situation. The monetary reform hit the Russian regime very severely. Some arrangement could be made to ease this blow, which might cost us some money, but no more than the air lift. Even a Four-Power conference would be to the good, although it would consume time. But time is working on our side.

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It remains to be seen whether this particular official attitude prevails in the conferences which General Clay will hold with Washington higher-ups during his visit here this week. If the White House makes the decision for Clay, it will -- unfortunately -- be regarded by many with as much suspicion as the call for a Special Session. The town is discussing the editorial in the Washington Evening Star of July 20. The Star rebukes Mr. Walter Lippman for saying: "The international crisis is very grave. What assurance is there now that Mr. Truman, who is a weak President and is at heart a jingo, will resist the temptation to exploit it?" The Star reprovingly addresses Mr. Lippman with, "This is dangerous stuff". If it is, then many in this Capital are uttering such "dangerous" comments. In these last few days, some circles have come to believe that the real motive behind the calling of the Special Session has been -- not a desire to utilize the price situation -- but to exploit the grave international situation for partisan ends. Others, however, say that the President simply wants Congress on hand during a month which may see alarming developments abroad.

Indeed, regardless of the merits of the indictments of the Communist leaders by the New York Grand Jury, their timing suggests a political motive. As Felix Morley points out in this week's Analysis, the Truman policy is aimed at taking votes from Henry Wallace. It is an odd coincidence that the indictments come just as the Wallace Party Convention meets, and they certainly pin a conspicuous Red label on a Party whose organization depends so much on the Communists and fellow travelers. Well-informed circles in Washington ask why these indictments were not presented earlier and why no indictments were rendered against Communists or fellow travellers formerly or presently in the Government.

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Foreign Briefs ---- Czech Deputy Chief of Staff General Hasal has fled his country and taken refuge in the Allied Occupation zone. Talk is that Defense Minister General Ludvik Svoboda and Chief of Staff General Bohumil Bochek may have escaped. Anyway, news dispatches from Prague say that neither of these important figures has been at his desk for the past week; and there is no definite news as to where they are. Military observers say, "It smells like a military purge".

---- A phone call to the headquarters of the United Mine Workers (well-informed on developments in the coal industry abroad) confirms a report that Ger-

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mans are applying for jobs in the Ruhr mines at the rate of 1,000 a week. UMW spokesmen attribute this spurt to the reform of the currency. With the new mark worth something in buying power, the men are willing to work.

---- Penicillin (capitalist manufactured) seems to have saved the life of Palmiro Togliatti, Italian Communist leader who was the victim of an attack last week. But more than an American-made drug may be necessary to save his job. Official circles believe that Stalin wants to purge the Togliatti leadership, which failed to win the elections this spring. In his wire of condolence (on the attempted assassination), Stalin in effect rebuked the present Communist Party leadership for failure to protect Togliatti. That, observers remark, was Stalin's subtle way of indicating that the present leadership must be changed. It is said that Stalin wants Luigi Longo, No. 2 man (a tougher Communist leader than Togliatti) to head the Italian Party. Some observers wonder if the MVD did not inspire and frame the attempt on Togliatti's life.

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Domestic Briefs ---- David Lilienthal, head of the Atomic Energy Commission, last week told a Government committee that the United States has apparatus capable of detecting the explosion of an atomic bomb anywhere in the world, provided it is detonated above the ground.

---- House investigators have presented a confidential report to Congressman Taber on leaks of European recovery supplies to Russia. According to the report (a copy of which we have seen), Great Britain has asked ECA for about $30,000,000 worth of strip mining equipment which is not likely to be used in the United Kingdom, and the report quotes Commerce Department advisers as saying that the machinery will probably be shipped to Russia. Russia, it is said, could use it in gold mining. The House Committee investigators also note how greatly British exports of machinery, probably to Russia, have increased in the past two years. These investigators believe that much of this machinery came from the United States and was simply trans-shipped. The report also produces evidence to show that ECA has allotted American tobacco in extravagant quantities, more than the European countries requested, and that the ECA allotments really constitute "dumping".

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Time was when the workings of foreign trade were more or less comprehensible, but today recollections of the pleas of Cordell Hull for reciprocal trade agreements (on the ground that they would lower trade barriers), have a sardonic flavor. The mazes through which foreign trade moves have become so complex that it seems remarkable that there is any trade at all. A well-known chemical exporter in New York said (New York Times, July 11) that out of fifty license applications made by his company since March, only two have been granted. The bootlegging of export licenses is common. The situation in steel is just as bizarre. Steel is supposed to be indispensable in the reconstruction of Europe. Yet, when the military today have the power of steel allocation for defense purposes, one Bernard Price, a water tank manufacturer in Weehawken, New Jersey, is bringing in steel from Belgium because he can't get it here! (New York Herald Tribune, July 2.) As ironical a note on the Iron Curtain as any is provided in the reports of the international trade fair held in Toronto in June. Precious few U.S. wares were on view. In contrast, one of the biggest exhibits was put on by Czechoslovakia and they did a roaring trade. (Herald Tribune, June 20.) It would seem that less shrieking about the reciprocal trade matter is in order and more realization of the existence of other barriers to trade than tariffs.

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Book Events

Enjoyment of Living, by Max Eastman. New York: Harper and Bros., $5.00. Reviewed by John Chamberlain.

The lukewarm praise bestowed by various reviewers on Max Eastman's Enjoyment of Living is more of a commentary on our times than it is a just estimate of the book. For Max Eastman is patient and introspective about his own youthful softness and protracted adolescence where the times beg for a literature of toughness. People have called Max Eastman arrogant and lazy; they have pictured him as a daring flaneur of revolution, poetry, humor, philosophy and the arts; they have damned him as a turncoat. But this first installment of his autobiography, which takes him down to 1917, reveals him as diffident and diligent and neurasthenic; a seeker for truth and integrity; and a "turncoat" only when he has recognized that false premises have led him to mistaken or undesirable conclusions. Moreover, the autobiography exhibits a quality of will that is wholly admirable. Max Eastman has been as persistent in his attempt to make his character into something harmonious and finished as a good sculptor is persistent in putting the precise final flourishes on an image in stone.

We have had scores of autobiographical reminiscences about the period which Max Eastman covers. Just to tick off a few that come to memory, there are Floyd Dell's Homecoming, Joseph Freeman's An American Testament, Mary Heaton Vorse's A Footnote to Folly, Susan Glaspell's The Road to the Temple, Art Young's On My Way, Lincoln Steffens' Autobiography, Hutchins Hapgood's A Victorian in the Modern World. But there is a more rooted quality to Mr. Eastman's book than to any of these. The great figure in Enjoyment of Living is Max Eastman's mother, a creature of force, animation, humor and prodigious vitality. When Max Eastman's father, an upstate New York minister, had a breakdown in middle life which made it impossible for him to face the ordeal of writing his sermons, the mother took over. "Sam, I believe I'll preach!" she said one day; and she did. From that time on Annis Ford Eastman went forth to the pulpit, while Max's father became farmer and storekeeper. The figure of the mother gives Max's book a depth in time that is missing in the works of Steffens, Vorse, Art Young and the rest. It also gave Max a mother-complex that protracted his adolescence. But instead of turning on his mother in anger, Mr. Eastman realizes that a "complex" is often the stuff out of which one gains the hard alloys of true character. Without his mother, Max Eastman would hardly have gone forth "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield".

Like others of his generation, Max Eastman became a Socialist. Years later he came to analyze the "motive patterns of Socialism". Some people become Socialists because they have a passion for tidiness, others because they love power, still others because they love freedom. The passion for tidiness subordinates freedom to "planning"; the power cult subordinates freedom to political sadism; and since tidy people and power-hungry people are more numerous than lovers of freedom, the end of Socialism inevitably becomes something that might be called Planned Sadism. Naturally enough, those who have become Socialists because of a desire for liberty are repelled. Since Enjoyment of Living carries Max Eastman only as far as 1917, when he was a Socialist editor of The Masses, we have still to wait for the story of his own revulsion against Marxism. But Enjoyment of Living makes us understand why freedom-lovers must reject even the Socialism that calls itself "social democratic". Life under Socialism of any type demands too much power and planning for the free man's good.

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By Bertrand de Jouvenel

The battle for Berlin stirs but a languid interest in Western Europe. An acute American observer, lately returned from this front, confided to me his astonishment at not being subjected to more than formal questioning as to events there. This incuriosity is significant. To give aid to the German capital, the island in the Russian zone preposterously created by the accords of Yalta, is a gigantic task. Only the might of America is equal to sustaining such a siege: an aircraft landing every four minutes -- what a prodigy! The whole thing is so far beyond our capacity to cope with, the enterprise is so obviously one which only the Americans are in a position to undertake, that we leave it to them, with the feeling of indifference which is the natural accompaniment of impotence.

If Berlin fell, then this indifference might well be succeeded by panic. At Paris the view has been long held that its fall is inevitable, and preparations have been made for withdrawing the French Services. It is feared, moreover, that a victory on this front for the Soviets will help to set in motion widespread agitation, for which wages questions will provide the occasion. The summer is expected to be much more agitated than was the spring. And the sharp rise in the value of the gold piece indicates the sense of disquiet.

That the fall of Berlin would be a historical event is certain: there was, five centuries ago, another European outpost which endured the onslaughts of Asia -- its name, Constantinople. Terror ensued on its fall throughout the whole of Western Europe which had been unable to save it.

That the entire burden of the defense of Berlin should fall on the Americans with none in Europe to help them but the English; that a matter so pregnant with consequences for Europe should be an American responsibility -- such a state of things is not without many psychological drawbacks. By getting the habit of leaning on American strength, as on American wealth, the peoples of Europe will in the end transform the nature of the assistance from across the Atlantic, and, by their own act, give it the air of a protectorate. They sense obscurely the way they are slipping and chafe at it. It is their confused awareness of dependency which is at the root of hostile appraisements of the United States. In their reluctance to admit that Europe's own sins are responsible for the condition of subordination into which she has fallen, Europeans accuse Americans of cherishing ambitious designs on her.

Europe, it is certain, suffers at this moment from a split mind. Her peoples see that they can of themselves insure neither their own defense nor their own livelihood, and this humiliates them. Yet at the same time they kick at doing what needs must be done if they are ever to support themselves without help. They cannot free themselves from those intellectual or sentimental attachments which perpetuate their weakness, and they sublimate their own failure of will to an external phenomenon -- American imperialism.

The Communist state of mind is lacking in interest. Can anyone believe that the Communists feel a genuine longing for independence when, at a recent Congress of theirs in Paris, they displayed above the platform a banner bearing these words: "The attitude adopted towards the United States is the touchstone of political parties and tendencies, as of public men"? On the other hand, the state of mind of the Socialists and of a large block of people with socializing tendencies is well worth attention. This section of opinion, though now frightened of the Soviets and at loggerheads with the Communists, suspects, simultaneously, Wall Street of plans to dominate; its dream is of a Europe which should be a "Third Force", independent of all and with institutions well to the left of American institutions. This school of

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thought, though now convinced as to Muscovite imperialism, is nonetheless opposed to military revival -- and thereby renders inevitable the military dependence of Europe. In economic affairs it is heard to say that we must cut down imports from America and spend much more on the installation of machinery which would render us self-supporting. As against that, it is in its domestic policies the enemy of whatever deflates purchasing power and cuts down State expenditure, and it is to men of this school above all that is due that vast excess of current demand over current production which makes outside assistance indispensable to us -- assistance which is for practicable purposes indistinguishable from relief.

There is thus a basic contradiction between the will to independence which is asserted and the policies which are still the vogue -- policies which cannot but draw tighter the bonds of dependence.

When such is, I will not say the European state of mind, but a state of mind widely met with in Europe, the various bilateral accords, now so lightly approved, seem charged with dangers for the future. For it will always be possible to represent as due to American inspiration the various measures, so obnoxious to ideological preconceptions, which the European governments will have to take to cleanse their Augean stables; this will not increase the popularity of the measures.

* * *

The problem of Europe, it is often said in the United States, is primarily economic. If by this is meant that the European situation would be improved in many respects by a rise in the level of general activity, it is true; but no explanation is adequate which loses sight of the causes which retard and prevent the raising of this activity. These causes are not solely, or even mainly, of an economic kind. The problem of Europe, it would be truer to say, is moral and intellectual -- and much more intellectual than moral, for it is now the law itself which, by becoming the embodiment of intellectual errors, is multiplying socially prejudicial forms of misconduct.

It would be hard to find a more striking example of conduct which is both immoral and economically harmful than that of the peasants, who, in time of want, have fed their corn to animals in preference to selling it to the towns. Yet, as everyone knows, this conduct is only the fruit of the law which imposed on them an unreasonably low sale price. We have here no isolated incident, but one episode in a general policy which aims at keeping down prices of the commonest sorts of food. As a result of this policy, bread, milk and butter are in short supply, and a change has occurred in the people's dietary habits; intent on getting nourishment, they have started to buy foods which contain fewer calories and are much dearer. So that in the end the need to supplement the essential foods which have their prices controlled by the State, has resulted for the working-class family in a weekly bill for food higher than it would have been if a rise in the prices of bread and milk had been allowed.

Immoral situations are often the creation of law. Here, for instance, is the tenant of a handsome flat: the law protects him against any attempt on his landlord's part to turn him out and allows him to pay only a ridiculously low rent, which may be anything from $30 to $100 a year; thus, for practical purposes the law forbids the owner to keep the property in repair. The tenant, on the other hand, is allowed to sublet for a sum which may be thirty times his own rent. In this way the right of disposal of his property has for practical purposes passed from the owner to the tenant, and the real price for the service rendered is paid not to the man who provides it, but to the man who is in enjoyment of its fruits. As a natural consequence French houses are falling to pieces and becoming uninhabitable. At the root of this situation lies yet another intellectual error.

It is truly deplorable that savings no longer find their way into productive investment but take the form, when possible, of gold pieces, which are smuggled

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across frontiers in an activity as intense as it is unproductive. This is the natural consequence of monetary and fiscal policies which have robbed the investor of all security with the result that, no matter where he puts his money, its real value declines beneath the weight of an enormous negative interest.

It is all as if some imp of malice had so arranged human institutions as to render those activities more profitable to the individual which are less profitable to the community, and had deliberately applied itself to canalizing activities into unproductive employments; as if, in a word, the end of Socialist legislation was to maximize the numbers of spivs and drones.

This imp of malice is no fiction; he is the Nero complex.

* * *

Nobody can hope to understand European politics who does not note the change which has occurred in the ruling classes. Marx was right to call attention to the class war, and to the way in which classes succeed each other in the command of Society. This idea of his was the fruit of observation on the replacement of a military and landed class by a "bourgeois" class of industrialists and merchants. Marx asserted that this class would, in its turn, be replaced by another. Where he went wrong was in saying, contrary to all logic, that that other class would be the proletariat and that the command of Society would return to the masses -- an idea which is a contradiction in terms. In fact there are, and must always be, minorities which succeed each other in the command; the masses are only their supporting base, as Pareto well observed and as is indeed clear enough. We may agree, therefore, that Mr. Burnham's thesis as to the managerial revolution has in it a high degree of plausibility. But in Europe that is not how things have gone: what has happened there has been a prodigious advance by the academic class.

Side by side with the activities of production, we have, in the course of the last century, seen developed the activities of exposition, centered around two institutions -- the school and the newspaper. The vast extension of education and the newspaper has created an entirely new class -- a numerous and influential class which grows every day in numbers and influence. This is the class which has given battle to the "capitalist bourgeoisie"; hurled against the social regime all those accusations which found an echo in the hearts of the people; and provided the framework within which the working-class armies formed up. And, very naturally, it sees itself the successor of the ruling class which it has done so much to overthrow. It is by no means certain that it is equal to the position; for in the end government is always the preserve of the class of "executives", and it looks as if Stalinism was, among other things, a reaction of the "executives" against the intellectuals. But in the still imprecise regime of Socialist or socializing democracies, such as are today England and France, the academic class holds the same considerable place as was in the middle ages held by the ecclesiastics. Now the conception of politics held by these intellectuals is an aesthetic one; they regard it as a new branch of the decorative arts and chisel their masterpieces deep in the social block. This is what we may fairly call the Nero complex. The more so as they bring to their designs a fanatical conviction such as Rousseau, wiser in this respect than Plato, had well foreseen.

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Nothing in this analysis will be visible to the American tourist who comes to bowl across Europe this summer. The people he sees will be pleasant, the life he sees will seem easygoing and even gay, the fetes he sees may astonish him by their zest. He will get the feeling of a Europe which is reviving, has recovered its taste for life, is becoming again a hearth of happiness. He will not see amiss, and it will be a useful corrective to all that has been here set out. Peace, after

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all, is a great blessing, and it is not absolutely necessary that the plans of governments should work out right for there to be a lightening of the hearts of their peoples, which is the work of life itself.

True it is that Europe is living under threat, but successive postponements of the evil day are sufficient for the day itself almost to be forgotten and for the threat thus to loosen its paralyzing grip. True it is that none can see today how Europe can ever make itself independent of American subsidies. There can be no logical end to dollar scarcity, since it is not seen what could turn the United States into importers of European manufactures. It is seen, too, that, if the Americans develop their imports of raw materials, the recipients of these dollars are most unlikely to spend them in Europe rather than in the United States. But the course of history sometimes discloses solutions which the intelligence had not discerned. Uncertain of the future, still Europe lives, and every moment that she lives strengthens her will to revival. The lies and fallacies in which the end of the war found her steeped are cracking and dissolving into dust. The United States is using artificial respiration on her. It is not in vain: Europe's breath returns.

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The upbraiding of Tito by the Cominform was a blow to Leftist circles in Western Europe, from which this Goering-ish person had received almost unbelievable adulation. Not so long ago a "great Communist intellectual" from France wrote an interview of Tito which was maudlin in its celebration of his voice, gestures and virile charm. This glamour stuff cannot have endeared the Yugoslav despot to the stern gray clerics of the Communist Church. While this personal factor may have alienated the Russian leaders from their Mussolini, we still do not know what was the compelling motive which drove them to his condemnation at the very time of the battle for Berlin. Did they primarily regard him as a traitor to "The Faith" in that he did not follow the Stalinist model in the "construction of Socialism", or did they regard him as a traitor to the imperialist policy of the Soviet Union? Did he sin against the doctrine, or was he suspected of secret dealings with the West? Probably both were held against him: but if we rightly knew which was the main factor in his excommunication we would achieve a better understanding of the Kremlin minds.

It would be over-optimistic to expect any unrest within the Western Communist parties as a sequel. There is no loyalty to persons in the Communist world; that the hero of yesterday should be the outcast of today is not depressing to Stalinists and does not breed doubt: rather it is exhilarating as it testifies that no man, however great, is anything in his own right but only as a servant of the Party; his sacrifice on the altar of the Party is as incense to this god and so is the sacrifice of one's own affection for him a meritorious exercise of one's virtue.

The Tito episode brought into relief the somewhat exaggerated view some take of Russian control over satellite countries. Writing on the morrow of the big news Lord Vansittart took it as read that Tito must have been liquidated. But no master-country can manage things so summarily in the Allied countries. Whatever may happen to Tito he apparently is still in the seat and while Serbia has been in the past the scene of bloody disposals by night of leaders who had ceased to humor a "protecting Power" (witness the assassination of Queen Draga), for the nonce Tito seems well in the saddle. Who can foretell the ensuing episode of this Balkanic thriller?

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A remarkable book has just appeared in Paris: Uranus, by Marcel Ayme. It is a novel which depicts small-town psychology after the Liberation. Among the many aspects which recommend it to the political scientist should be noted the various portraits of Communists which can be taken as a deep-reaching study in motives and behaviors.

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